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ABSTRACT

This document describes the Mentors, Peer Groups, and Incentives (MPI) demonstration project, a model for helping early adolescent underclass males to improve academic performance and reduce the probability of premature fatherhood. A first section discusses the working definition of the underclass as a group where dysfunctional behaviors are common; reasons for underclass growth, including a growing division of men from jobs and families; how higher academic achievement among youth and less teenage pregnancy can reduce the size of the underclass; and reasons for targeting young males. The second section reviews a few concepts in the social psychology of behavioral change to provide a conceptual framework for mentor roles. The third section describes the model, provides examples of mentor activities, and shows how mentors use peer groups and incentives as tools. Full-time mentors would serve proteges as affiliates and intimate older friends, life skills teachers, administrators of behavioral change, and academic advocates. Peer groups are an ideal tool for youth who are bound together by a common experience of rejection by the larger community and whose cultural tradition values group over individual achievement. The model would use peer groups for peer tutoring and cooperative learning. (JB)

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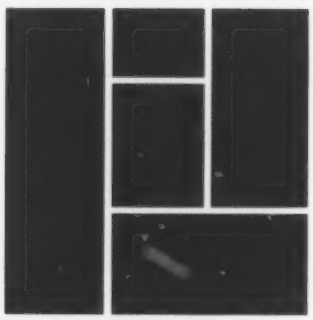

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September 12, 1990

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A MENTOR, PEER GROUP, INCENTIVE MODEL FOR HELPING UNDERCLASS YOUTH

Douglas Glasgow (1980) and Ken Auletta (1982) rang the underclass alarm in the early 1980s. Since then many studies confirm the emergence, during the 1970s, of a population plagued by persistent poverty, concentrated poverty, and dysfunctional behaviors. This population, known as the underclass, is small, highly unskilled, mostly black and Hispanic, and concentrated in the nation's largest cities.[1] Disputes about measurement and data problems thwart consensus about whether the underclass is growing.[2] Nonetheless, most observers agree that the prevalence of certain behaviors in the underclass is too high. These behaviors include welfare dependency, crime and drug abuse, dropping out of high school, male separation from the labor force, and teenage and single parenting. In the face of these trends, it is hard to believe we have arrived at a new decade with few clear policy prescriptions in view.

Economic, academic, and programmatic changes are already operating to increase earnings and reduce teenage parenting among women from underclass areas. Teenage parenting is a major cause of long-term poverty among young women from underclass areas. However, teenage pregnancy prevention programs and welfare reform provide a well-defined and developing structure of interventions through which young women from underclass areas can avoid or correct the adverse effects of teenage parenting. Meanwhile, the structure of interventions to help young men from underclass areas become well-paid workers and responsible parents is not yet defined.

Unless complementary changes are working to help young men, families will be unable to leave underclass areas. If women in the underclass are the only ones who become self-

supporting, the ratio of income-to-needs in underclass families will be too low to enable these families to leave underclass areas. To increase these ratios, males in underclass areas must make academic and economic progress as well. They must also increase child support payments to dependent children and help to reduce the number of poor, female-headed families. This seems a daunting task in light of high rates of mortality, unemployment, incarceration, absentee fatherhood, non-labor force participation, and dropping out of high school among young men from underclass areas.

The purpose of this paper is to motivate and develop a demonstration project called the MPI model. MPI is an acronym for Mentors, Peer Groups, and Incentives. We designed the MPI model to target youth in early adolescence. We believe such programs must be a central part of the structure of interventions to help young men become responsible workers and parents. One could use the MPI model to promote many behavioral goals. We use it to improve academic performance and reduce the probability of premature fatherhood among 10- to 15-year old males in underclass areas. To accomplish these goals, paid, full-time, adult male mentors give program participants affiliation, life skills training, academic guidance, and academic advocacy. Mentors use peer groups to provide academic and life skills training and to reinforce changes in attitudes about academic achievement and responsible sexual behavior. Mentors also use monetary incentives to encourage participants to continue in the program and to set and achieve short- and long-term goals.

The MPI model is not entirely original. Programs with similar behavior and demographic targets are springing up around the country.[3] Do these isolated programs provide lessons for developing the structure of interventions for young men? We help to answer this question in two ways. First, we derive MPI from a framework that connects specific youth problems to changes in U.S. policy, economy, and demography that affect underclass growth. Second, we provide a

conceptual base for understanding how mentors can help young males make the transition from adolescence to adulthood.

The paper is organized as follows. The first section discusses our working definition of the underclass, reasons for underclass growth, how higher academic achievement among youth and less teenage pregnancy can reduce the size of the underclass, and our reasons for targeting young males. The second section reviews a few concepts in the social psychology of behavioral change to provide a conceptual framework for mentor roles in MPI. The third section describes the model, provides examples of mentor activities, and shows how mentors use peer groups and incentives as tools. The final section summarizes the paper.

This concept paper is just the beginning of a larger agenda to understand the mentoring process and develop a model of effective community-based mentoring programs. As a first step this paper describes the rationale for the MPI model and discusses its basic components. The second step will create an actual program design. This will involve answering specific questions about the recruiting and training of mentors, the number of proteges per mentor, choosing sites for program activities, and so on. We avoid these issues in this paper to allow for input from sponsors and program developers who know the local resources and will want some ownership of the program within their communities. To aid this second step we plan to ask experts and practitioners--in education and adolescent development and sexuality--to review the model and give us the benefit of their insight and experience. The third step will be to implement a demonstration. Finally, the fourth step of our agenda is to evaluate the demonstration.

I. CHOOSING TARGET BEHAVIORS AND POPULATION

The goals of the MPI model are to increase academic achievement and attainment and reduce the probability of premature fatherhood. The target population is males between 10- and 15-years old from underclass areas. To motivate these choices this section will consider five questions: (1) What is the underclass? (2) Why has it been growing in the last two decades? (3) What outcomes must change to stem underclass growth? (4) Why target males? (5) Why target 10- to 15-year old males?

1. What is the Underclass?

Observers use the term underclass in different ways, but several themes are universal. There is a general consensus that the underclass is a population plagued with social problems. Crime, drugs, teenage pregnancy, joblessness, school dropouts, welfare dependency, and single parent families are common descriptions of the social problems. Some observers include extreme or persistent poverty in their definition of the underclass; others do not. Further, the underclass can describe a geographic area, or a group of individuals who exhibit dysfunctional behavior. For example, underclass neighborhoods are areas where these conditions or dysfunctional behaviors are the rule rather than the exception.

Following Ricketts and Sawhill (1988), we define an underclass area to be a neighborhood where dysfunctional behavior is commonplace. We prefer to work with the underclass area idea, because it centers attention on all residents of neighborhoods where dysfunctional behavior is commonplace, not just on individuals who already exhibit dysfunctional behavior. For example, Ricketts and Sawhill used data from the 1980 Decennial Census on teenage parenting, welfare dependency, male detachment from the labor force, and dropping out of high school. All residents of neighborhoods with above average rates of each of these four behaviors became

members of the underclass area population.[4] They found 880 underclass areas with a total underclass area population of 2.5 million:

1. more than forty percent of this population was poor;
2. almost seventy percent was black or Hispanic;
3. sixty-three percent of the adults were high school dropouts;
4. ninety-nine percent lived in urban areas; and
5. more than sixty percent lived in the northeast and north central regions.

The incidence of the four dysfunctional behaviors, the criterion variables, was also extremely high in underclass areas:

6. sixty percent of the households in underclass areas were headed by women with children;
7. one third of the households depended on welfare;
8. More than one half of the men worked less than twenty six weeks during the year; and
9. more than one third of the teenagers were high school dropouts.

Residents of neighborhoods where dysfunctional behavior is so prevalent may be at risk of imitating such behavior. These so-called contagion effects are among the most important implications of underclass research. Although empirical research on contagion effects is at an early stage, a few studies find evidence of such effects, especially on youth (Crane, 1989; Mayer, 1989; Corcoran et al., 1989). If contagion effects are important, the appropriate focus of policy includes individuals who already exhibit dysfunctional behavior and those at risk of becoming members of the underclass because of the prevalence of such behavior in their surroundings.

We prefer to work with the underclass area population, because contagion effects are central to youthful behavior. Experts on youthful behavior emphasize that peers and other reference groups have a strong effect on the behavior of youth (Norem-Hebeisen and Hedin,

1988). The influence of peers and other reference groups resembles a contagion effect. Thus, drug prevention programs try to influence youthful behavior through positive peer pressure. MPI is a preventive program, like these drug prevention programs. MPI participants are youth who may already exhibit dysfunctional behavior. MPI participants also are youth at risk of engaging in such behavior, because they live in neighborhoods where so many dysfunctional role models are available. Thus, MPI's target group is all young men between the ages of 10 and 15 who live in a specific neighborhood.

2. Why has the Underclass Been Growing?

Research is beginning to confirm a set of economic hypotheses that explain underclass growth. Three trends account for the growth of the underclass: (1) a growing division of men from jobs and families, (2) an increasing number and spatial concentration of female-headed families, and (3) continuing high rates of segregation of minorities in urban areas. The set of hypotheses relating these trends to underclass growth begins with changes in the structure of urban economies and ends with a concentration of poverty and dysfunctional behaviors in neighborhoods.

Changes in the structure of urban employment over the last few decades hurt workers with little formal schooling. There was a decline in the number of manufacturing jobs paying high wages to these workers and a corresponding increase in service sector jobs that require workers with some college. There was also growth in the number of service sector jobs requiring a high school diploma or less, but this growth occurred in traditional female occupations (e.g., clerical workers) or in other occupations paying low wages (Wilson, 1987; Blackburn, Bloom, and Freeman, 1990). These structural changes reduced employment prospects for low-skilled people living in central cities, especially men, and increased poverty among female-headed families.

Changes in family structure also contributed to increased poverty among female-headed families. Birth rates among teens and young women have been declining since 1960. However, declining marriage rates and a decline in childbearing among married women produced an increase in the number of out-of-wedlock births and female-headed families (Wilson and Neckerman, 1987; Berlin and Sum, 1988). Researchers debate whether declining earnings and employment reduced marriage rates among less skilled minorities in central cities.[5] Whatever the outcome of this debate, we know that a greater proportion of births occurred out-of-wedlock and that declining earnings and employment reduced the capacity of absentee fathers to support their children. As a result, poverty rates and welfare dependency grew among female-headed families.

Segregation of minorities is the final trend in our model of underclass growth (Massey and Eggars, 1989; Massey, 1989). High poverty rates among minorities coupled with high rates of housing segregation among minorities tended to concentrate poor jobless men, poor single mothers, and poor fatherless children in the same neighborhoods. With the changes in the urban economic and family structures, this concentration created conditions ripe for the growth of underclass behaviors: labor force detachment, single parenting, crime, and drug abuse.

Labor force detachment may have occurred because of the way inner-city youths responded to the decline in high paying employment opportunities. Mead (1986) emphasizes that low-wage service jobs replaced high-wage manufacturing jobs during the structural change of the 1970s. The total number of jobs did not decline. Therefore, structural change by itself is not enough to explain the decline in labor force participation among inner-city minority youths. Labor force detachment occurred because youths in the 1970s were less willing to accept low-wage employment than their parents. This response is similar to the unwillingness of second

generation immigrants to accept the same kinds of low-status jobs their parents held (Piore, 1979).

Single parenting by poor adults with little education fosters other underclass behaviors among youth. Adverse outcomes for youth result from the stress and poor parenting skills associated with these parental characteristics. The problem is more acute when families headed by poor, single, and poorly educated parents are concentrated in the same neighborhood. Poor homes are often stressful homes. This stress is highly correlated with adolescent behavioral problems (Hetherington, 1989; Heyns, 1985). Single parents provide less supervision for their children than parents in married-couple families. Poorly educated parents are less likely to emphasize " . . .warmth, demandingness, and verbal give and take." This parenting style is more likely to result in adolescents with higher academic attainment, lower sexual activity, and lower delinquency. Parents with less education are also less capable of showing their children how to succeed academically (Dornbush, 1989).

Parental deficits for youth in underclass areas have gender specific consequences. For example, girls with less dating supervision are more likely to become sexually active and to do so earlier (Hogan and Kitigwa, 1985). Boys in single-parent households receive autonomy earlier than girls and much earlier than boys or girls in other family types. These boys are more likely to engage in sexual activity, delinquent activity, and to do poorly in school, often with the encouragement of their peers (Dornbush, 1985). For example, Fordham and Ogbu (1986) attribute poor academic performance among minority youth to the perverse idea that those who do well academically are acting white. Thus, poor academic performance among such youth may result from the combined effects of family background characteristics and negative peer pressure. Finally, boys who live with one parent are more likely to engage in delinquent behavior, if the custodial parent is the mother (Santrock and Warshak, 1979).

Increasing crime and drug abuse among males in underclass areas is also due to changes in economic structure, family structure, and increasing segregation. First, declining earnings reduced the status of older men in the community who maintained mainstream work and family patterns. Because of their declining economic status, these men became less appealing role models for younger men (Anderson, 1989b). Instead of working two jobs, younger men were more likely to supplement their low-wage earnings by selling drugs (Reuter, MacCoun, and Murphy, 1990; Brounstein et al., 1989). Second, stiffer penalties gave adult drug dealers stronger incentives to recruit younger boys into the trade (Williams, 1989). As a result, high schools (and later) junior high schools became bigger drug markets. As the number of families headed by young, poorly-educated females increased, street life became the norm for a larger and larger number of young boys. In highly segregated neighborhoods, drug dealers became the role models and drug gangs became the organized peer groups for an increasing number of young boys.

3. What Outcomes Must Change to Stem Underclass Growth?

MPI is part of a long-term strategy to reverse two of the three key trends that have produced underclass growth in the last two decades. The first is the growing detachment of men from jobs and families. The second is the growing number and concentration of female-headed families (O'Neill and Hill, 1989; White, 1987). The third, which MPI cannot address, is the persistence of high rates of segregation among minorities in urban areas.

To stem the growth of the underclass, the employment and earnings of men and women must rise and the number of unmarried teenage mothers must fall. The resulting improvement in economic status will enable families and individuals to leave neighborhoods where social problems incubate and to be self-supporting in their chosen places of residence. Persistent economic growth in the latter part of the 1980s yielded minimal employment and earnings gains

for low skilled people, like those from underclass areas (Juhn, Murphy and Pierce, 1989). Further, the number of single, teenage parents continued to rise during the 1980s.

Future economic and demographic trends provide a basis for hope that these trends are reversible. Slow labor force growth predicts improved chances for good jobs and good pay for young workers early in the twenty-first century. First, labor force growth during the next 10 years will be lower than growth at any time since World War II. Second, white males will represent only fifteen percent of the labor force growth that occurs. Third, the average age of the labor force will increase from 34 years to 39 years. This is important because younger workers are more mobile than older workers and may adapt to new skill demands more easily than older workers. Finally, the number of workers between 16 and 34 years old will fall (Johnston, 1987).

These demographic trends create a window of opportunity for well-prepared young workers. To meet their labor needs in the twenty-first century, American employers will draw heavily from minorities, women, older workers, and immigrants. The best employment and earnings opportunities will go to young workers who are well prepared academically; in good physical and mental health; and free from drug and alcohol dependencies. Each of these requirements poses a barrier for youth from underclass areas.

MPI prepares youth to take advantage of 21st century opportunities for better jobs, increased family incomes, and residential mobility. The first goal of MPI is to overcome some of the barriers to academic achievement and attainment. Barriers to academic achievement and attainment among underclass youth come from the school, the youth, and the out-of-school environment. Low teacher expectations, misguided teaching methods, and poorly organized schools are important barriers to academic achievement and attainment. School reform programs such as effective schools (Edmonds, 1979, 1982) and accelerated schools (Levin,

1988) will overcome these barriers.[6] MPI will overcome subjective student barriers and barriers associated with underclass neighborhoods. That is, changing the school environment is not enough. Early adolescents must have the motivation to achieve academically and their education must continue when the school day is over. Therefore, MPI motivates youth to get basic skills and creates an out-of-school environment that supports basic skills acquisition.

The second goal of MPI is to encourage responsible sexual behavior, so that young workers' personal income gains translate into economic and spatial opportunities for themselves and their families. Better jobs and pay are not enough to guarantee the incomes tomorrow's young workers need to move their families out of underclass areas. Young families also must maintain a high ratio of earners to dependent children.

Out-of-wedlock births by teenagers from underclass areas defeat the second goal in three ways. First, young minority women frequently give birth following a pregnancy, but abort their education. Without subsequent schooling, training, child care subsidies and medical care subsidies, these young women suffer long-term unemployment, labor force detachment, and low earnings (Hofferth, 1987). Second, after fathering a child by a teenager, minority men rarely marry (Lerman, 1986; Berlin and Sum, 1988; Testa, 1989; Gibbs, 1988). This increases the number of minority families in which the ratio of earners to dependent children is low. Third, even as they mature, single minority mothers have extremely low probabilities of marrying. This shuts the major escape route out of long-term poverty and welfare dependency (Ellwood, 1986).

We hypothesize that families headed by low-skilled minority women prevented the underclass from shrinking, despite economic growth during most of the 1980s. Reduced demand for low-skilled workers characterized economic growth during the 1980s (Juhn, Murphy and Pierce, 1989). Therefore, the earnings of low-skilled workers grew very slowly. At the same time, female-headed families accounted for roughly seventy percent of all poor, minority families

throughout the decade of the 1980s (figure 1). Two changes would allow favorable economic and demographic events to reduce the size of the underclass in coming decades: first, reduce the number of families headed by low-skilled minority females; second, secure support for these families from absent fathers.

4. Why Target Males?

The MPI model targets males in underclass areas to bring greater balance to forces already operating to decrease underclass growth. We see imbalances in three areas. First, minority females have been making better progress than minority males in employment, earnings, and academic achievement.[7] Second, the Family Support Act of 1988 (FSA) will prepare young females who become single mothers for jobs, but FSA will not help young men who become absent fathers. Third, efforts to curb teenage parenting have not sufficiently involved males and the programs that include males have been unsuccessful.

Slow Progress Among Black Males. Increasing the employment and earnings of women and men from underclass areas is a prerequisite for reducing underclass growth. One-sided progress in employment and earnings will leave families depending on welfare or the earnings of a single worker. Housing in segregated, low income neighborhoods, with pervasive social problems, will be the only choices available to these families. Nevertheless, one-sided progress is exactly what we see.

This one-sided progress is evident in the education, earnings, and employment-to-population ratios of black females and males. Females generally have higher graduation rates than males of the same age (table 1). However, gender differentials in rates of high school graduation tend to be larger for blacks than for whites and the differentials are larger for younger black cohorts (18-19 years old). In recent years, while white females have not caught up to white males, black females have had higher college enrollment rates than black males (table 2).

Though black males have higher employment and earnings than black females, black females have made greater progress. Median earnings of employed black and white females reached parity in the mid 1970s (figure 2). By contrast, median earnings of employed black males were just over 65 percent of median earnings of employed white males in 1975, and virtually no progress has been made since then.

Employment has expanded for black women, but black men are growing increasingly detached from work. In the early 1970s, the black male employment-to-population ratio exceeded the black female employment-to-population ratio by fifty-four percent. By 1989 the former exceeded the latter by just over twenty percent (Economic Report of the President, 1990). Rising black male unemployment and falling labor force participation during the 1970s and the early 1980s reduced black male employment. The gap between white male and white female employment-to-population ratios also declined, but the trend for whites was less sensitive to periods of high unemployment.

The Family Support Act. The 1988 Family Support Act (FSA) addresses a weakness in the previous welfare system. A minority of AFDC recipients (an estimated 25 percent) received most of the benefits. Typically this group began receiving AFDC as young unwed mothers and their poor skills and poor marriage prospects kept them in long-term poverty and dependency (Ellwood, 1986).

FSA now helps--in fact requires--all recipients to become self-supporting. Suppose a teenager has an out-of-wedlock birth, gets AFDC, and maintains a household excluding the non-custodial parent. FSA requires the custodial parent to participate in education, training, and work experience programs leading to self-support. FSA also requires non-custodial parents to pay child support through wage garnishments. In this way both parents share the responsibility of supporting the child and AFDC benefits decline.

This system maintains an unfortunate double standard that can have adverse affects on underclass growth. Typically, the father is the non-custodial parent and in underclass areas, fathers frequently have no work. So FSA requires and assists the mother to prepare for employment, but makes no requirement or provision to prepare the father for employment or to upgrade his skills. This system ignores the role that men could play in reducing the size of the underclass. Before FSA, men with low income and low employment probabilities had very few incentives to avoid fathering children out-of-wedlock. FSA gives these men no new incentives. Before FSA, unemployed absent fathers had little incentive or ability to pay child support. FSA increases neither their incentive nor their ability to pay. Finally, FSA could widen existing advantages in earnings, training, education, employment, and work experience, that women in underclass areas may already enjoy over men.

There is probably no feasible way to treat custodial versus unemployed, noncustodial parents equally under FSA. FSA is awarding grants to five states for demonstration projects with voluntary programs for absent fathers. These projects are likely to yield useful information about the willingness of unemployed absent fathers to support their children and the cost and benefits of helping these men. Job readiness programs for absent fathers would almost have to be voluntary. Unemployed, absent fathers could refuse to participate without suffering a direct loss; they would simply jeopardize benefits for their children. By contrast, single mothers who failed to participate would jeopardize benefits for themselves and their children. Yet few would suggest formalizing a double standard: mandatory participation for custodial parents and voluntary participation for noncustodial parents. Help for unemployed absent fathers or those at risk of becoming absent fathers must come from outside FSA.

Incorporating Males in Pregnancy Prevention. Teenage out-of-wedlock parenting continues to rise, despite growing efforts to reduce this trend. These efforts include school-

based sex education, community family planning clinics, and innovative life options interventions. Research suggest that the limited success of these efforts is partly due to their failure to adequately incorporate males.

To incorporate males, programs need to follow several prescriptions. First, boys need more information than they are receiving now and need to receive this information at younger ages. Second, programs must help boys to exercise more responsible sexual behavior. Third, programs need to provide more than sex education. Fourth, programs must fully incorporate males or be developed exclusively for males (National Research Council, 1987; Center for Population Options, 1986; Dryfoos, 1988).

Besides increasing the capacity of absent fathers to support their children, programs must help males to reduce the number of teenage pregnancies. Too many young men begin having intercourse before obtaining the knowledge or emotional maturity they need to be sexually responsible. Other young men have the knowledge and maturity; they simply take the risk of unprotected intercourse as lightly as they take the parental responsibility after the out-of-wedlock birth. This lack of knowledge, maturity and responsibility costs children, single mothers, and taxpayers too much.

Programs are neglecting to meet critical needs of boys in sex education. Boys need more information and they need information at a younger age. Societal messages and developmental experiences influence boys to be more interested in sex and to initiate sexual intercourse at early ages. At the same time, boys know less than girls about contraception and the risks of pregnancy, even when exposed to the same amount of instruction (Dryfoos, 1988; Children's Defense Fund, 1988). Most sex education programs take place in the schools, but these programs vary in purpose, quality, and intensity. Further, due to a lack of information about the varying quality and quantity of school-based sex education, conclusive evaluation of its

behavioral impact is scarce. In fact, these programs often do not prescribe to affect behavior. Some studies have attempted to overcome these obstacles.[8] Their results show increases in knowledge about sexuality, but little or no impact on sexual behavior (Marsiglio and Mott, 1986; Kirby, 1984).

In addition to sex education, programs need to teach males to behave in sexually responsible ways. Otherwise, the number of children with absent fathers will continue to grow. Current behavioral trends support the likelihood of an increase in this problem. First, sexual activity among never-married young men increased during the eighties (Sonenstein, Pleck and Ku, 1989). Second, males who become sexually active before age 16 are more likely to become absent fathers than males who defer sexual activity until they are older (Parke and Neville, 1987). In some neighborhoods, the proportion of boys who expect to father a child out-of-wedlock is above 66 percent.[9] Finally, fathering a child out-of-wedlock increases the chances of being an absent father and the level of support from absent fathers decreases over time (Lerman, 1986). Thus, adolescent males need to develop more responsible attitudes about sexuality, contraceptive use, and parental responsibility and change their behavior accordingly. For this to happen, they need motivating and teaching.

Recent clinic-based programs have begun to include males, but few programs have been designed specifically for males (Center for Population Options, 1986). Family planning clinics for females have been adapted for males, but with little success. These adapted programs are frequently plagued by low male participation and involvement. Overall, males comprise less than one-half of one percent of all family planning clinic patients. There are several reasons for low participation by males, including insufficient funding, inadequate male staffing, and female staff members who are unreceptive to male program participants (Dryfoos, 1988). Not surprisingly, these programs also have had no effect on male behavior.

Programs seeking to reduce teenage single parenting by working with males should go beyond providing sex education and making contraceptives available. They need to be designed expressly for males with consideration for their unique needs, attitudes, and circumstances. For example, males can more easily avoid the adverse consequences of a teenage pregnancy. Therefore, males need even greater incentives and information than females to be sexually responsible. Successful programs will teach sexual responsibility in the context of more comprehensive instruction focusing on the opportunities and prerequisites for better lives (i.e., life skills training).

One-sided efforts to reduce the number of poor, female-headed families have been unsuccessful. Efforts must be made to reduce pregnancies among unmarried teenagers and increase employment among single mothers. But every poor, female-headed family also implies an absent father. Efforts to reduce the problems associated with poor female-headed households will be incomplete as long as men do not support the children they already have and young men fail to postpone fathering children until they become steadily employed.[10]

5. Why Target 10- to 15- Year Old Males?

Employment and training programs, which are traditional policies for helping disadvantaged men, seem to be natural candidates to meet the needs we have described. Usually programs serve youth between 16 and 21 years old, who are or are likely to become high school dropouts and labor force nonparticipants. Programs provide basic skills training, occupational skills training, labor market preparation, temporary jobs, and job placement services. We are skeptical of the value of these programs because they provide too little, too late.

Over the years, government-sponsored employment and training programs have centered increasing attention on the problems of disadvantaged youth. Several approaches have been

tried under major legislation such as CETA, YEDPA and the current JTPA. One successful example is Job Corps, a comprehensive and costly residential program for out-of-school youth. Even after long-term follow-up, employment and earnings of participants were higher than nonparticipants. Other positive effects of Job Corps include improved educational attainment and decreased criminal activity (Betsey, et al., 1985; Taggart, 1981). Demonstration projects such as YEDPA under the Carter Administration and pilot programs such as Jobstart and STEP continue to look for better ways to increase employment and earnings among disadvantaged youth.

Nonetheless, employment and training programs generally achieve small gains. Many programs have not had long-term effects. Participants in programs with long-term effects get small earnings increases over nonparticipants. Further, these programs only help participants who stay in; the most disadvantaged youth, who are most likely to contribute to the underclass, have low participation and retention rates.

Modest program gains probably occur because the programs serve youth after solid barriers to employment have already built up. The youngest group served by any employment and training program is 14 and 15 year olds. By late adolescence, the target age of most programs, employability problems of disadvantaged youth require comprehensive services too expensive for most programs to supply. These youth need work experience; remedial education; on-the-job training; job search assistance; and instruction in workplace culture, decorum, and appearance. Programs prepare participants for entry level jobs at best and during periods of falling demand for such workers, private sector employment for graduates is rare and wages are low.

There is a critical need for interventions that help youth before employment barriers build up. Between the ages of 10 and 15, young males are making critical decisions and undergoing

critical changes.[11] These developments will affect the quality of their basic skills upon entering the labor market. These developments will also affect the likelihood of premature fatherhood and the ability and willingness of youth to support children they may have in the next few years. Further, demographic changes affecting the size and composition of the labor force create strategic opportunities for males who reach early adolescence in the 1990s.

Change so defines the lives of early adolescents that it is hard to imagine how anyone successfully negotiates these years without help. First, biological, psychological, and cognitive changes during puberty are more dramatic than at any other point in the life cycle, except infancy. Second, moving from elementary to middle school involves important changes in social environment, including exposure to a wider variety of friends and teachers. Partly because of these environmental changes, early adolescents begin to depend less on their parents and more on their peers to shape values, beliefs, and behavior. Third, the major part of the task of reevaluating values occurs during early adolescence. Early adolescents often find this task complex because modern adults are often vague about their values. This makes the peer group a competing source of opinion on values, despite its immaturity. Fourth, experimenting with behaviors that affect education and health (e.g., sex, smoking, and abuse of alcohol and illicit drugs) begins during early adolescence.

This upheaval especially affects the academic attainment of black and Hispanic males. In early adolescence, rates of grade retention (being held back one or more grades) of black and Hispanic males begin to climb. Figure 3 shows that compared with the increase in retention rates for white males and minority females, the increase for black and Hispanic males is large. The slowdown in academic achievement among black and Hispanic males begins in the elementary grades (Kunjufu, 1982). However, in the middle school grades, behavioral changes and tougher sanctions against disruptive behavior may accelerate the rate of grade retention and

dropping out of school among black and Hispanic adolescents (Meier, Stewart and England, 1989).

Since grade retention often precedes dropping out, increasing academic attainment of underclass males means starting early. In 1986, approximately 13 percent of black and Hispanic males had not reached the 10th grade by the expected age. Being 2 or more years behind grade level is a strong predictor of dropping out (GAO, 1986). A student who is failed and held back a grade is 4 times more likely to drop out of school than one who is not held back. Dropout prevention programs that begin in high school are not only more expensive, they are too late for these youth (Hahn, 1987; Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, 1989).

As we suggested in the previous section, pregnancy prevention programs are likely to have the greatest long-term payoff if they begin in early adolescence. Frequently, sex education and family planning programs target high school age youth or teenage parents. Data on adolescent sexual activity, especially among males, suggests replacing these remedial approaches with preventative ones. First, the average age of first intercourse for males is 16.3 years (14.4 for black males and 17.4 for white males) and almost twenty percent of all boys become sexually active before they are 14 years old (Center for Population Options, 1987). These youth are more likely to become absent fathers. For example, among the 22 to 25 year old men interviewed by Parke and Neville (1987), almost two-thirds of the absent fathers became sexually active before they reached 14 years of age. By contrast, less than a third of the fathers living with their children and about one fourth of the childless men had become sexually active before reaching sixteen years of age.

Demographic and economic changes are a final important reason for intervening during early adolescence. Boys who will reach their tenth to fifteenth birthdays in 1990 will be young workers in the early part of the 21st century. This is the period in which demographers and

economists expect non-traditional sources of labor to make great gains. Slow labor force growth and slow growth in the fraction of white males in the labor force will force employers to recruit increasingly among women, minorities, and immigrants. Employment-to-population ratios should rise among these groups and increased competition should lead to higher wages. This creates a window of opportunity for young men now enrolled in underclass area schools. To benefit from these labor force changes, however, these young men must get the basic skills that future employers require (Mincy, 1988; Johnston, 1987).

II. A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR MENTOR ROLES

Despite the growth of community service programs for youth, a conceptual framework for such programs is often lacking. Such a framework can help to determine the potential benefits and limitations of program components and to suggest refinements that improve program results. A vast psychological literature exists to help construct such a framework. We could rely on the theory of rational action (Ajzen and Fishbein, 1980); or the theory of control (Langer, 1983); or on ideas about mastery vs. helpless orientations (Dweck et al., 1978); or on optimal synthesis of skill and challenge (Csikszentmihalyi and Larson, 1984).[12] Instead, we rely on a more direct and simpler approach using a few key ideas about self-esteem, self-efficacy, and behavioral change.

1. Self-Concept

The term self-concept refers to the thoughts and feelings that people use to define their self-image--that is, to understand themselves in relation to their surroundings. Academic achievement is one of many attributes, abilities, or activities that form a person's self-image. Thus thoughts and feelings about academic achievement are components of a person's self-

concept.[13] Other components of self-concept include: demographic characteristics such as age, race, and gender; physical attributes such as height, weight, and general appearance; and abilities in a variety of non-academic activities (Rosenberg and Kaplan, 1982).

2. Self-Esteem

To determine self-esteem, people arrange the components of self-concept into a hierarchical structure. The higher a component is in this hierarchy, the more salient the component is to the person. Self-esteem is the result of assessing oneself using this hierarchy. High self-esteem occurs when people give themselves high scores on self-concept components at the top of the hierarchy. Low self-esteem occurs when people give themselves low scores on self-concept components at the top of the hierarchy. High or low scores on self-concept components at the bottom of the hierarchy have little effect on self-esteem.

Social interaction affects self-concept and self-esteem in at least two ways. First, people use the opinions of significant others to assess themselves on self-concept components. Second, people compare themselves to others when assessing themselves on components of self-concept (Rosenberg and Kaplan, 1982). Likely reference groups for self-assessment include peers, friends, classmates, parents, teachers, siblings, other relatives, supervisors and co-workers.

3. Self-Esteem Motive

The self-esteem motive connects self-concept, self-esteem, and academic achievement. According to the self-esteem motive, people behave in ways to preserve high self-esteem. This behavior may take several forms. For example, people may reorder the hierarchy of self-concept components. They may ignore or deliberately misinterpret the opinions of reference group members. They may revalue the opinions of persons making assessments. They may choose other reference groups for standards or comparisons. Or, they may decrease the number of

times assessments by others occur (Kaplan, 1982). So the relationship between self-concept and academic achievement (or achievement in any other area) does not move in one direction. Self-concept can affect achievement and achievement can affect self-concept.

4. Self-Efficacy

Even when an activity yields high self-esteem, achievement usually requires practice. Self-efficacy affects whether someone will try an activity, the amount of energy he will devote in practice, and his willingness to keep practicing despite failure or frustration (Bandura, 1977).

Self-efficacy involves two expectations. First, outcome expectation refers to a person's estimate that a given behavior leads to certain outcomes. Second, efficacy expection refers to a person's belief that he can perform the behavior required to produce the outcome. An individual can believe that a set of behaviors leads to a desirable outcome, but his outcome expectation alone is not sufficient to cause him to perform the behaviors. If he doubts his ability to perform these behaviors (efficacy expectation), he will not act.

An example may be helpful here. The self-esteem motive suggests that people choose to specialize in activities or to develop abilities that boost their self-esteem. Suppose a young man, Carl, has never played billiards and that billiards ranks low in the hierarchy of his self-concept components. A friend encourages Carl to try billiards. Carl does and discovers a natural talent of which he was not aware. He shoots several good games and receives high praise from his friend and from others.

Three things are likely to occur. First, Carl will elevate billiards in the hierarchy of self-concept components. He increases self-esteem by making an area yielding favorable self-assessments more salient. Second, he will join a billiards team to associate with other people who value billiards highly, as he now does. The team also provides a reference group with which

to assess his progress as a billiard player. Third, he will begin to practice billiards to perfect his new-found game.

4. The Psychology of Behavioral Change

To understand how to change behaviors to promote academic achievement, let us focus on Carl's practice sessions. These sessions illustrate performance accomplishment, the most effective way to increase self-efficacy (Bandura, 1977). Carl's practice sessions consist of specific behaviors such as going to the game room regularly; choosing his "lucky" cue stick; breaking the racked balls at just the right angle; aiming for the cushion at just the right point, with just the right angle, to effect trick shots; and hitting the cue (white) ball at the top, bottom, right, or left to produce different results on subsequent balls. Carl will persist in these specific behaviors and improve his game as long as he believes that each of these behaviors increases his score (outcome expectation) and that he can successfully execute each behavior (efficacy expectation).

Even if Carl maintains his outcome expectations (i.e., each behavior increases his score), he will abandon practice sessions if events reduce his efficacy expectation (i.e., belief that he can execute these behaviors). For example, if Carl's parents complain and punish him for "hanging out at the pool hall," he will not practice. If someone always takes Carl's lucky stick, he will be slow to develop his eye-hand coordination. If Carl's brief attention span inhibits practicing breaking, cue ball, and cushion techniques, he will never develop the specialized skills he needs to compete against his peers in the billiards tournament.

III. THE MPI MODEL

The foregoing discussion suggests a program to help early adolescent males in underclass areas. The program has specific behavioral goals to help proteges reach academic outcomes they select.[14] Full-time mentors are the primary service providers. They serve proteges as affiliates and intimate older friends, life skills teachers, administrators of a program of progressive behavioral change, and academic advocates. Mentors position themselves as advocates of the proteges rather than advocates of education. Even the setting of the program is off the school premises. Mentors use peer groups to provide academic and life skills training and to reinforce changes in attitudes about academic achievement and responsible sexual behavior. Mentors also use monetary incentives to encourage proteges to continue in the program and to set and reach short- and long-term goals.

1. Mentoring and Affiliation

Mentors earn the right to affect behavioral change by meeting the intimacy and affiliation needs of proteges. The mentor-protege bond begins during the summer months between the end of elementary school and the beginning of middle school. Program developers can use a variety of activities--including athletic events, field trips, and summer camps--to help cement bonds between mentors and proteges. These activities should provide opportunities for mentors and proteges to exchange personal information and experience a common period of stress and achievement.

Once the matches are made, mentors and proteges meet for regular and frequent bonding sessions. These open-ended sessions occur during the summer months, on and off the program site. The sessions are informal and occur during recreational activities. During bonding sessions mentors encourage proteges to talk about themselves and listen to what proteges say.

Mentors use these conversations to clarify information about proteges' personal problems, family history, life and career goals, and specific academic goals. When appropriate, mentors: (1) share with proteges life experiences of mentors (or of others) that relate to goal attainment; (2) identify the likely steps that proteges must take to attain their goals; (3) identify the role of academic achievement in reaching goals; and (4) identify pitfalls in non-academic areas that cause failure. The purpose of this exchange is to increase the salience of academic achievement.

2. Mentors and Behavioral Change

The academic intervention begins in earnest during the final weeks of the summer. Here each mentor begins to administer a program of progressive behavioral change. The long-range goal of the program is to teach proteges to select and perform behaviors that increase academic achievement, without help from mentors. Mentors can help to reach this goal by establishing a clear, limited, and achievable set of behavioral tasks (Flaxman, Ascher, and Harrington, 1988). Working through these tasks should convince proteges that they can behave in ways that help to reach short-term goals and that such behavior has the anticipated outcome.

The behavioral change program has four steps. First, the mentor helps the protege to select one or two specific academic goals for the coming year. Second, the mentor, with help from program educational staff, creates a sequence of behavioral assignments to help the protege reach his goals.[15] Third, the mentor gets feedback from the protege to decide how much progress the protege is making toward his goals. Fourth, the mentor modifies the level of difficulty of the behavioral assignments or suggests specific ways to overcome obstacles to performing the behavior. Feedback between steps three and four continues until the protege adopts the behavior as a habit or until the protege reaches his goal. Then the mentor and the protege work on other goals, repeating the four step process.

Mentors must be patient and flexible when steering proteges to realistic academic goals. Proteges may select goals that they could never reach within an academic year. These goals are fine for the long term, but proteges need short-term goals to build self-efficacy. Mentors can help by breaking long-term goals into several components that the protege can reach within a few months and suggesting which component logically precedes the others.

Mentors must try to build self-efficacy before they build academic achievement. Proteges may ignore more serious problems when setting their goals. They may even ignore academic goals entirely. Still, the mentor should try to work on goals that proteges choose initially, as long as these goals are not frivolous. These goals are likely to be more salient to the protege's self-concept. The protege will learn that he can engage in behaviors that help him reach his more salient goals. Then he can generalize the resulting improved self-efficacy to other behaviors and goals (Bandura, 1977). Mentors can encourage proteges who initially choose non-academic goals to focus on academic goals later. Meanwhile, mentors can use films, field trips, peer group sessions, and other activities to stimulate the proteges' thinking about career options and steer proteges' goal setting toward academic prerequisites.

3. Mentors and Advocacy

Mentors are not the only individuals who affect proteges' academic achievement. Teachers convey basic information and supervise the learning process while proteges are in school. Parents have access to privileged information and control proteges' movements outside the school. Members of several reference groups assess proteges' academic abilities and performance in ways that can increase or decrease proteges' motivation to learn. Finally, reference group members often have valuable information that mentors can use to diagnose and correct problems related to proteges' academic motivation and achievement. Mentors become advocates to control the effects of these significant groups on proteges' academic achievement.

Schools. While the MPI model does not try to affect the content of the school curriculum, it does try to affect expectations and perceptions of teachers and school administrators. These expectations and perceptions have significant effects on students' academic achievement (Levin, 1988). So increasing teachers' expectations of proteges' academic potential is an important task of the mentor. Mentors try to increase teacher expectations by making teachers (and school officials) aware of the resources available to proteges outside school and by showing how mentors support teachers' goals.[16]

The program must enlist the support of principals, other school officials, and teachers as soon as possible. Program sponsors or administrators should contact school principals to introduce them to the goals and methods of the MPI program, and to provide the names of program mentors and proteges, with background information. Although conflicts are inevitable, mentors, proteges, and program professional staff must keep the credibility of the program in mind in their relationships with professionals in the school.

The mentor should contact each teacher of a program protege, before the customary "parent's day" in school. The mentor should determine if the teacher is aware of the program, its goals, and its methods. Further, the mentor should discuss pertinent background information about the protege with each teacher, including the specific goal the protege chose for the current academic year. These discussions should emphasize protege's strengths and weaknesses, even if these are only indirectly related to a particular teacher's subject matter. Mentors should make teachers aware of the strengths or weaknesses revealed by assessment tests. Sometimes the planned behavioral change program addresses particular strengths or weaknesses. Mentors should emphasize this correspondence to teachers when it occurs. Other behavioral change programs ignore critical weaknesses. When this occurs mentors should explain that to increase the protege's self-efficacy, the program works on the academic skills

most salient to the protege. The mentor also should explain to teachers that mentors and proteges have discussed how specific weaknesses inhibit academic and career achievements and that the mentor will try to steer proteges to address particular weaknesses in the future.

Finally, mentors must offer to support teachers and school administrators. Mentors will attend "open house" and PTA meetings and encourage parents to do the same. Mentors will assure teachers and school administrators that MPI works daily with proteges to see that they attend tutoring sessions, complete homework assignments, and forego disruptive class behaviors. Finally, mentors will help to resolve conflicts between teachers, school administrators, and students over charges of misconduct and discipline.

Support and cooperation with school representatives is important, but mentors must foremost remain advocates of the proteges. This is particularly important when teachers and school administrators invoke displinary sanctions. The most common sanctions include suspensions, expulsions, assignments to classes for the Educable Mentally Retarded, and assignments to classes for students with behavioral disorders. These sanctions disproportionately affect minority male students. This may explain their general alienation from the schools and the decline in their academic achievement and attainment (see Kunjufu, 1982; and Meier et al., 1989). Therefore, mentors must: (1) understand the steps involved in progressive sanction systems; (2) know how the systems protect student's rights; (3) help students avoid these sanctions, where possible; and (4) help parents and proteges ensure that sanctions are justly administered.

Since, the school environment may be an adversarial one for young males from underclass areas, the MPI site will be off the school premises. By locating in a non-school site, we hope to give mentors and other MPI staff the authority to create an environment tailored to

boost the academic self-concept of proteges. They can create an environment of trust, free from the negative messages that proteges receive from reference groups within the school.

Parents. Mentors also must enlist the support of parents to increase proteges' academic achievement. Parents play important roles in every aspect of proteges' development. Therefore, mentors must explain themselves as resources available to parents and proteges and must get parents to accept and support various roles that mentors assume to help proteges.

In particular, mentors must explain their need for access to school personnel and information normally reserved for parents. Mentors need access to school personnel and information to coordinate learning activities at the program site with in-school instruction. Mentors also need this access to carry out their role as advocates for proteges with teachers and school officials. Ideally, parents should give mentors written permission to view school records, attend parent-teacher conferences, and so on. Such evidence of the parents' full consent will increase the mentor's credibility in the eyes of teachers and school officials.

Mentors also must actively solicit parents' input to better understand how to help proteges. After explaining the goals of MPI, mentors should solicit parents' cooperation in five areas. First, parents should evaluate proteges' strengths and weaknesses. Second, parents should provide information about the home and neighborhood attributes that may help or hinder the proteges' success. Third, parents should give any insights they might have about the reasons proteges chose specific goals. Fourth, parents should give proteges encouragement concerning their goals when proteges are away from school and the program site. Finally, parents should know the specific behavioral tasks assigned to help their child reach his goals, but parents should not harass proteges if they fail to perform these tasks. The goal of the program is to encourage self-motivation and self-efficacy. Negative parental reactions to failures by proteges can make it

difficult for proteges to distinguish what they are doing for themselves from what they are doing for their parents.

Mentors are a source of support for parents and need to cooperate with parents, but mentors must avoid alienating the protege. The mentor is the protege's advocate and works hard to build a trusting relationship. If the mentor becomes too involved with the parent, the protege may become confused about whose side the mentor is on. By maintaining the appropriate amount of distance from the parents, the mentor helps to provide an "environment of trust," a non-stressful environment for the youth to work out problems.

The proteges' home and neighborhood environments may present obstacles to program goals. Therefore, parents should know that the program site is a safe, stimulating, and positive environment. Mentors can help make parents feel comfortable about the program site in several ways. They should encourage parents to visit the program site and be responsive to parents concerns. They must give attention to complaints about fighting, disciplinary actions, or harassment by other program participants at the program site. Thus, parents will have the confidence they need to encourage their children to spend time away from home pursuing program goals.

Parents, especially single parents, who are overburdened with time commitments, will welcome the support that mentors provide. However, some participants in the program neighborhood will live in well-functioning families and stress-free home environments. In these cases, the mentors play more limited roles. The mentors fulfill some important functions that should be available to every protege in the neighborhood. The mentors can help parents with teacher contacts and tutoring, and be an additional adult with whom the protege spends quality time. Mentors also can provide an important link to networks outside the neighborhood by helping proteges pursue opportunities for employment and post-secondary education. Finally,

mentors can reinforce parental ideas, at a time in the life cycle when proteges begin looking to reference groups outside the family.

Assessments. Negative assessments by reference group members can reduce proteges' motivation to improve academic performance. These negative assessments are constant reminders of academic weaknesses, appearing in the form of objective appraisals, such as test grades, or subjective appraisals conveyed to proteges through derogatory comments. Proteges can react to negative assessments in several ways. The self-esteem motive suggests that proteges will reduce the salience of academic achievement in favor of another component of self-concept. Thus negative assessments can destroy efforts by mentors to increase the salience of academic achievement.

Mentors must get parents, teachers, and school administrators to support the MPI model through the assessments they give to proteges. Mentors should help parents understand how negative assessments by family members thwart the progress of proteges. Specifically, parents and family members should commit themselves to speak positively about proteges. Mentors must try to get teachers and school administrators to cast negative assessments in positive terms. Besides reporting current academic performance, mentors can ask teachers to use records of past academic performance to point out academic progress as well. Further, mentors can ask teachers to record proteges' specific goals and point out spillover effects between work done in school and work done in MPI.

At the same time, mentors can help proteges to reinterpret negative assessments of their academic performance. Mentors must teach proteges to interpret a negative assessment in light of proteges' specific academic goals and progress. This means proteges must no longer interpret specific negative assessments as general statements of academic incompetence. Instead proteges can interpret the negative assessment in one of two ways. First, the negative

assessment is the result of the protege's choice to focus on certain skills at the expense of others. Here, mentors teach proteges how to select and perform behaviors that help them reach their current goals and to generalize these behaviors to attain other goals in the future. Alternatively, the negative assessment is the result of being expected to perform at a level that exceeds the proteges goal or his current progress in the behavioral change program. Here, mentors encourage proteges to persevere to overcome an already salient weakness.

While teaching proteges to reinterpret negative assessments, mentors position themselves as favored sources of assessments about academic progress. One strategy for maintaining high self-esteem is to revalue the opinions of people making assessments. One would reduce the value of opinions from people making negative assessments and increase the value of opinions from people making positive assessments. By consistently emphasizing progress toward self-determined goals, rather than current academic achievement, the mentor strengthens his role as an ally and advocate in the protege's mind. This increases the mentor's ability to promote necessary behavioral changes.

4. Peer Groups

Peer groups are an important tool that mentors use to reach MPI's behavioral goals. Successful school reform efforts use an expanded version of this principle by implementing changes across the entire school. As described earlier, Levin's (1988) method to develop accelerated elementary schools includes all grades within the school. James Comer's successful model for improving academic achievement, first implemented in New Haven, is a community-wide intervention (Schorr, 1988). These school reformers are changing the climate of the school, partially by changing youths' expectations of the school and youths' expections about their academic performance. The MPI model works with a more focused peer group; one that is more familiar to the proteges. The program recruits all 10- to 15-year old males who live

in the same neighborhood and will attend the same middle school. Many of these boys know one another before joining the program. The program could further subdivide the larger peer group into smaller peer groups or teams that meet weekly or bi-weekly. These smaller peer groups provide forums for learning and changing attitudes about sexuality and contraceptive use.

Peer techniques can be very effective among early adolescent males in underclass areas. Adolescent drug treatment therapists emphasize that peers have an important effect on the behavior of individual adolescents. Early adolescents from minority and low-income backgrounds may be especially susceptible to peer pressure for two reasons. First, they share a common experience of rejection by the larger community, which bonds them together (Resnick and Gibbs, 1988). Second, their cultural tradition values group over individual achievement (Kunjufu, 1982).

Peer groups are an ideal tool for improving academic achievement of at-risk students. Mentors can use two forms of peer instruction that are effective in increasing the academic achievement and attainment among youth in our target population. The first is peer tutoring, a teaching format that benefits both the tutor and tutee. The second is cooperative learning, where students work together in small groups to master material.

Peer tutoring offers several advantages over other forms of supplementary instruction. First, in peer tutoring programs the ratio of teacher to pupil is one-to-one. This is the optimal ratio for student learning. Second, peer tutoring programs allow learning to occur without teacher criticism or judgement, which sometimes discourages students (Webb, 1988). Third, besides benefits for tutees, tutors also gain a greater understanding of the material (Madden and Slavin, 1987; Resnick and Gibbs, 1988). Besides the pedagogical benefits, Levin, et al. (1984) found that peer tutoring is more cost-effective than other innovative and effective school programs.